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Democracy as the Indicator of Sustainability

—From the research of "Questionnaire on Ideal Society Part II" in Japan and Sweden—

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Abstract

Sustainable welfare indicator HSM (Human Satisfaction Measure) including Triple bottom line (Society, Environment and Economy) was proposed by Ohashi in 2000[1] and developed from Ver. 1, Ver. 2-(1), Ver. 2-(2), Ver. 3-(1), Ver. 3-(2), Ver. 4,Ver. 5 (figure 1-7) with help of Dr. Hong Nguyen[2] and Professor Nobuyuki Kimata[3].

Ver. 4 and Ver. 5 of HSM, Ohashi introduced weighting research of 6 categories (Labor, Health, Education, Gender, Environment and Income) using Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) Method, in Japan(2007), in Sweden(2008), named "Questionnaire on Ideal Society Part I".

Ohashi included one open-ended question "What is your ideal Society?" both in Japan and Sweden. Using the text mining software named True Teller® of Nomura Research Institute, Ltd., analyzing the open-ended answers of both countries to "words mapping" (figure 9, 10). Ohashi found the interesting results. The keywords mutually found in both countries are "environmental consciousness" and "stability of life". The keywords appeared only in Japan is "society without gap" and only in Sweden "democracy", "equality" and "education".

Triple bottom line[4] is indispensable factor for social sustainability, but "democracy" is also important as sustainable healthy society, as emphasized in the training course of OECD in Kyoto March 25-27, 2009[5].

Consequently, Ohashi performed the research "Questionnaire on Ideal Society Part II" in Sweden and Japan in May 2009.

In the research, Ohashi included one-open ended question, "What kinds of aspects of your country do you like most?" in the questionnaire of both countries.

Analyzing the answer using True Teller® as word mapping (figure 11, 12), the keywords appeared in both countries are quite different.

In Sweden, "Democracy", "Freedom of speech" and "Equality" were the keywords of the most favorite aspects of their country. In Japan, "Nature", "Environment", "Peace" and "Culture" are the aspects Japanese respondents liked most about their country.

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Swedish respondents appreciate the foundation of their country that people depend upon, while Japanese appreciate the aspect of software of their country and they are not aware the foundation why they can enjoy the software.

Sweden has about 100 years of history of democracy while Japan got democracy after the defeat of World War II with the help of GHQ (General Headquarters). So there is big delay in democratic thinking in Japan compared to Sweden, and it makes unhappy phenomenon in Japanese sustainability.

Such findings Ohashi got from the research.

Ohashi concluded that in order to increase the HSM value of Japan, the key issue is to raise the consciousness of democracy in Japanese society, especially in politics.

Because if in Japan, democracy will fully function in politics and management, the performance of triple bottom line of Japan should be increased to raise the HSM value.

Part I : Background of the Development of HSM —for the first reader of HSM theory, this part is prepared

1. Establishment of the Theory on Sustainable Social Welfare Indicator

1.1 What is "ideal society" with happiness and satisfaction?

The "ideal society" which everybody wishes and wants to share with others should be a society where: (1) every member has a high level of happiness and mental satisfaction; and (2) happiness and mental satisfaction of the future generations are also secured. Happiness and satisfaction of the present generation should not sacrifice the future generations or environment of planet earth. In other words, "sustainable development" must be secured.

However, in the conventional definition of marketing and "theories on happiness" in sociology and economics, inter-generational "sustainable social development"[6] is not recognized.

1.2 Definition of sustainable development

According to UNESCO, there are a few hundreds of definitions of sustainable development[7], of which the following two are of special importance: the definition given by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987[8] that defines sustainable development as development that satisfies the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs. This means that there should not be intergenerational exploitation.

The second important definition of sustainable development presented by Barbier (1987) emphasizes the harmonization of ecological system (environment), economic system (economy), and social system (society)[9]. Similarly, Elkington (1997)[10] states that the Triple Bottom Line (society, environment, and economy) must be audited.

Table 1 HSM adopting society, environment, and economy

Triple Bottom Line	
Society	1. Labor category: unemployment rate 2. Health category: infant mortality rate 3. Education category: primary school enrollment rate 4. Gender category: female advancement rate to 4-year university
Environment	5. Environment category: Ver.1 popularization rate of water supply Ver. 2-1 CO_2 emission Ver. 2-2 ecological footprint Ver. 3-1 CO_2 emission Ver. 3-2 ecological footprint Ver. 4 ecological footprint Ver. 5 ecological footprint
Economy	6. Income category: Gini coefficient

1.3 Countries that assure "sustainable development" in laws

- In Germany, state's responsibility for future generations' environmental rights was added to Chapter 20a of the constitution in 1994[11)]
- In Sweden, Chapter One of the Swedish "Instrument of Government"[12)] and the Swedish Environmental Code[13)] assures sustainable development and future generations' rights to good environment
- In Bhutan, the Constitution of Bhutan (Chapter Five) assures future generations' rights to good environment
- In Japan, Chapter 3 of the Basic Environment Law assures future generations' environmental rights

1.4 Establishment of the sustainable social welfare idicator HSM

In order to establish HSM as a sustainable social welfare indicator, harmonious balance of the Triple Bottom Line is taken into consideration. As shown in Table 1, six categories corresponding to the Triple Bottom Line are selected, and the data sources for the six categories consist of statistical fixed quantity data.

HSM=W (Labor, Health, Education, Gender, Environment, Income)

2. Social Indicators Seen from the Perspectives of "Sustainable Development"

2.1 Criticism of GDP

GDP[14)] increases whenever there are monetary transactions, even when they are caused by war, traffic accident, suicide, divorce, environmental destruction. On the other hand, GDP does not reflect housework and childcare for which women are generally thought responsible, and which are indispensable for social welfare.

In the 1930s, Simon S. Kuznets (1901-1985) developed the index of GNP. However, he stated in 1943 that it was impossible to measure welfare of a nation by GNP[15)]. Later, GDP came to be criticised by many scholars in the world for the fact that it increases through monetary

Table 2　Social Indicators from the Perspective of Sustainability

		GDP (Gross Domestic Product)	SEEA (Handbook of National Accounting: Integrated System of Environmental and Economic Accounting)	NNW (Net National Welfare)	ISEW (Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare) GPI Genuine Progress Indicator)	HDI (Human Development Index)	GNH (Gross National Happiness)	HSM (Human Satisfaction Measure)	HPI (The Happy Planet Index)
Economy (Income)		○	○	○	○	○	○	○	×
Society	Labor	×	×	△	○	×	△	○	×
	Health	×	×	△	△	○	○	○	○
	Education	×	×	×	×	○	○	○	×
	Gender	×	×	△	△	Additionally GDI/GEM	×	○	×
	Other	−	−	○ Consumer durables service	○ Costs on traffic accidents	−	○ Good governance	−	○ Satisfaction
Environment		×	○	○	○	×	○	○	○
Sustainability		×	△	△	○	△	○	○	△
International comparison		○	Produce by country	×	△	○	Not known	○	○

Note: Whether "society" "environment" and "economy" are included
○: included; △: partly included; ×: not included
International comparison: ○: possible; △: partly possible; ×: impossible

transactions in market even when they are caused against welfare. Some of the criticisms were raised by Robert Kennedy (in his lecture given at the University of Kansas, March 18, 1968)[16], Jean Baudrillard (1970)[17], Daniel Bell (1973)[18], Hazel Henderson (1978)[19], and Ralph Nader (1978)[20].

2.2　Movement for going beyond GDP

"The Beyond GDP Conference", organized by European Commission, European Parliament, OECD, WWF, and Club of Rome, was held in Brussels on November 19–20, 2007. The conference concluded that Europe has reached a political agreement that it appeals, together with UN, OECD, World Bank, and other stakeholders, for the necessity of a new indicator beyond GDP[21].

In Bhutan, the former king (the fourth king Jigme Singye Wangchuck) pursued GNH (Gross National Happiness) instead of GNP. In the recent years, GNH international conferences have been held in collaboration with UN, OECD, and UNDP. The fourth conference was held in Bhutan between November 24–26, 2008. The fifth conference was held in Brazil on November 20–23, 2009.

Under an initiative taken by President Sarközy in France in collaboration with OECD,

French National Statistics Bureau, OFCE (l'Observatoire français des conjonctures économiques), a Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress (CMEPSP) was established consisting of 24 outstanding economists in the world, led by Professor Joseph Stiglitz. The report by CMEPSP was published in September 2009[22], including the thinking of beyond GDP developed by the commission.

Thus, there have been efforts made to go beyond GDP and to develop a new indicator. Table 2 shows whether the six categories of Triple Bottom Line are included in some social indicators.

3. Version-up of HSM

3.1 Shift in the calculation method for HSM

The versions 1, 2-(1), and 2-(2) of HSM were calculated by the Cross Entropy method[23].

$$HSM_i = Po,j \sum_{j=1}^{6} \ln Po,j - Po,j \sum_{j=1}^{6} \ln Pi,j \quad \text{(Equation 1)}$$

Po,j : standard value of j category in every year
Pi,j : empirical data value of j category in every year
i : annual data j : every category

Although the Cross Entropy method is one of the useful methods, it has a disadvantage that the calculation method is highly complicated and too difficult for policy makers and ordinary citizens to use. For this reason, the co-researcher Dr. Hong Nguyen suggested to adopt the DtT (Distance to Target) method[24] from Ver. 3. The advantages of the DtT method are: (1) Calculation method is simple; (2) Scientific transparency is assured; and (3) It can show consistency between policy objectives and the reality.

The calculation method measures the distance between the policy objective and the reality. The United Nations, assesses the DtT method as a preferable method[25]. The following equation shows the calculation method of HSM by the DtT method adopted after Ver. 3.

$$HSM = \sum_i \frac{1}{P_i^0} \times \frac{P_l}{P_i^0} \times C \quad \text{(Equation 2)}$$

P_i^0 is policy objective value; P_i is present value
$1/P_i^0$ is a standardization to show relative effect of each category within HSM, and demonstrates focuses of policy makers
P_i/P_i^0 shows assessment of the realization of policy objective value
C is constant

The following is the objective values of each category used in the DtT method:

(1) Labor category: unemployment rate is 0% = employment rate is 100%.
(2) Health category: infant mortality per 1,000 births is 0.

(3) Education category: enrollment rate in primary education in 2015 is 100%.
(4) Gender category: female graduation ratio from 4-year universities is 100%.
(5) Environment category:

Ver. 3-(1): CO_2 emission: reduction objectives based on the Kyoto Protocol.
Ver. 3-(2), Ver. 4, Ver. 5: Ecological footprint: if the EF values exceed the ecological capacity, HSM environment becomes minus.

(6) Income category: Gini coefficient is 0.

3.2 Chronological value changes in 15 countries from HSM Ver.1 to Ver.5

Since Japan's ecological footprint value is 5.4 times as much as the annual environmental capacity, the ecological footprint overshoots in Japan. Therefore, when the ecological footprint value is included in the environmental category, Japan's HSM ranking falls radically to the 13th place out of 15 countries in Ver.3-2, Ver.4, and Ver.5.

Figure 1 : HSM Ver. 1 (environmental category, water supply diffusion rates version)

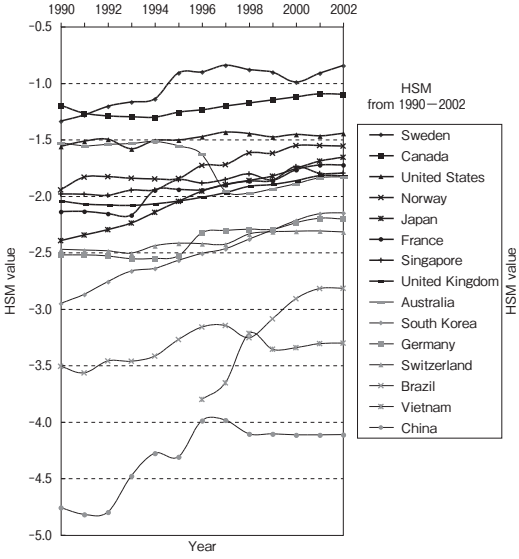


Figure 2 : HSM Ver. 2-(1) (environmental category, CO_2 emission version)

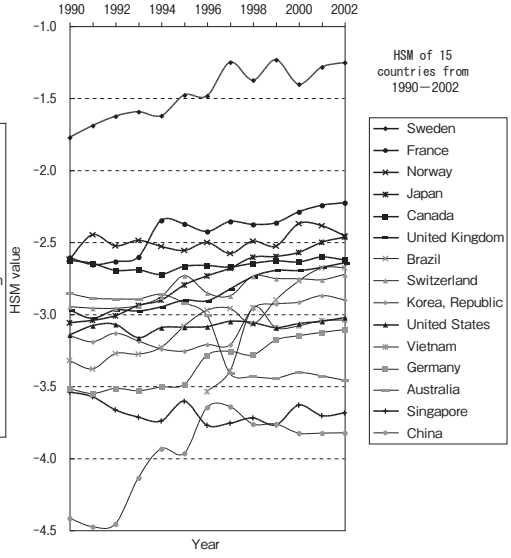


Figure 3 : HSM Ver. 2-(2) (environmental category, ecological footprint version)

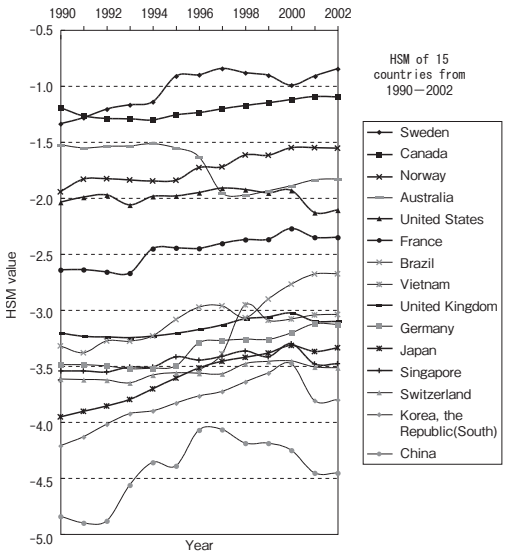


Figure 4 : HSM Ver. 3-(1) (environmental category, CO_2 emission version)

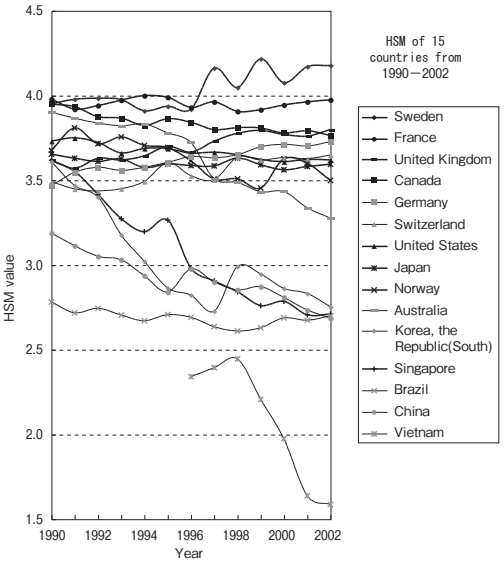


Figure 5 : HSM Ver. 3-(2) (environmental category, ecological footprint version)

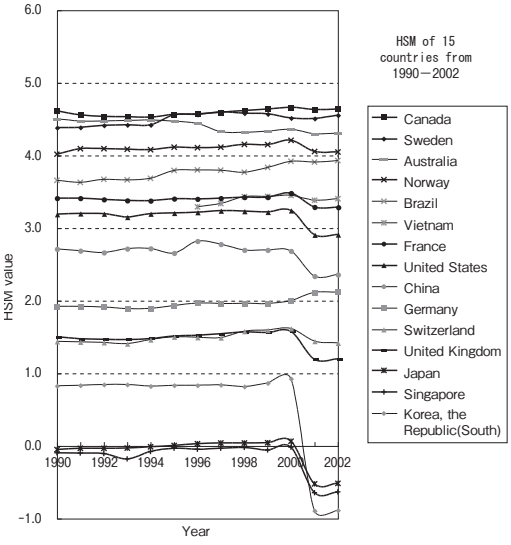


Figure 6 : HSM Ver. 4 (environmental category, ecological footprint version)

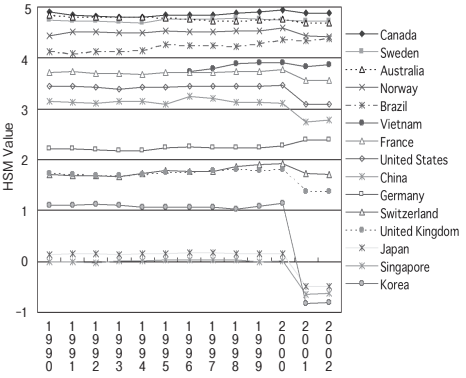
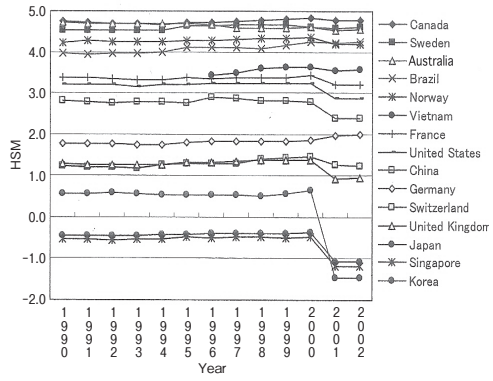


Figure 7 : HSM Ver. 5 (environmental category, ecological footprint version)



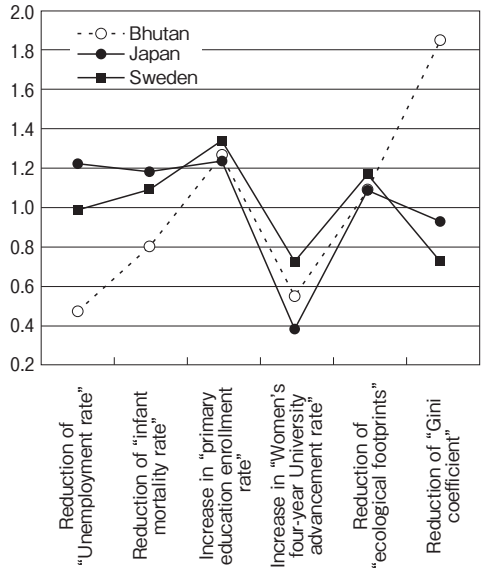
3.3 Weighting coefficients of the six categories of HSM using the AHP method[26]: towards a concrete and practical usage of HSM

HSM version 1-3 was developed by assigning equal weights to the indicators of the six categories. However, it can be assumed that different personal values and consciousness lead to different weights of the six categories. If relative weights among the indicators of the six categories become clear, it is possible to use them for concrete policy suggestions. For this reason, it was decided to adopt Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) method to calculate the weighting coefficients of the six categories.

A web-based survey on ideal society ("Ideal Society Part I")[27] was conducted in Japan in 2007. The weighting coefficients extracted from the survey responses were reflected in Ver. 3-(2) and resulted in HSM Ver.4 (see Figure 6). In 2008, another internet-based survey entitled "Questionnaire on Ideal Society Part I"[28] was conducted in Sweden, and the weighting coefficients from this survey were reflected in Ver.3-(2) and resulted in HSM Ver.5 (see Figure 7).

Figure 8 next page shows the weighting coefficients of the six categories calculated from the data collected in Japan, Sweden, and Bhutan. In Bhutan, only five respondents involved in 2007, so result is only for reference. In the figure, the weighting coefficient for the "increase in the female advancement rate to 4-year university" is the lowest in Japan. Gary Becker (1975) states that the investment in education has effects on employment, income and status[29]. The investment in females for 4-year university education will surely contribute to the improvement of female status, but the Japanese are not conscious of the importance of this investment. It correlates that Japan's Gender Empowerment Measures (GEM) published annually by UNDP since 1995 shows the 54th place in the world (Human Development Report 2007/2008, p. 366), which means that the gender gap is largest in Japan among the OECD countries.

Figure 8 : Weighting Coefficients of Japan, Sweden, and Bhutan
(Note: Bhutan's case, being based on only five responses, is only for reference)



4. Differences between Japan and Sweden in the Responses to the Open-ended Question in the "Ideal Society Part I"

4.1 Commonalities and differences in the word mapping of keywords from Japan and Sweden

The *True Teller* text mining software developed by Nomura Research Institute, Ltd. was used for the analyses of the open-ended answer.

In the research conducted in Japan and Sweden, there was an open-ended question about "What type of society do you consider to be an ideal society with high levels of happiness and satisfaction?". *True Teller* demonstrates word mapping where relationships between words are shown in different locations on a map, in two dimensions by using the principal components analyses.

Words that commonly appear in the word mapping both Japan (Figure 9) and Sweden (Figure 10) are "stabilized life" ("economically stable life", "leeway", and "peaceful life" in Japan; "economy, life" in Sweden), and "consideration for environment".

On the other hand, "society without social gap or anxiety" appeared in Japan but not in Sweden, and "democracy", "equality" and "education" appeared in Sweden but not in Japan. From those key words, it can be assumed that for the Swedes an ideal society is a society where democracy functions properly, and that education is an important tool to pass the democratic values onto the next generation.

Figure 9 : Mapping of words in Japan, all respondents (n=1756)

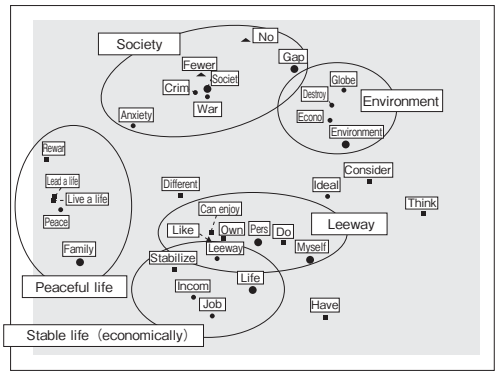
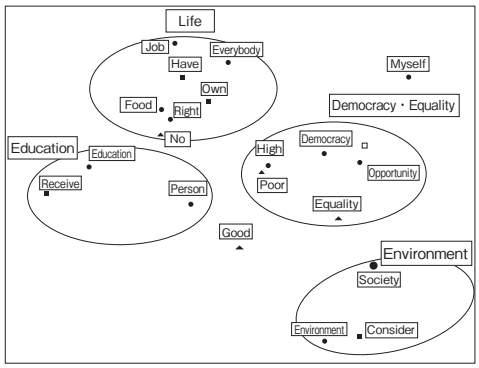


Figure 10 : Mapping of words in Sweden, all respondent (n=227)



At the time of this analysis, the author was aware of the fact that democracy is the cornerstone of the Swedish society, according to the following factors in Sweden: (1) Article one in Chapter one of the Instrument of Government, one of the four basic laws in Sweden, states that democracy must be realized through the representative parliamentarianism and local autonomy based on freedom of expression and the equal general suffrage; (2) Article two in the same chapter states that all governmental authorities must respect democracy as the guiding philosophy in all social aspects; and (3) Article two of Chapter one in Law of School defines that school activities must be based on democratic values. Thus Swedish children grow up with deep learning of democratic values. In Japan, however, the word "democracy" does not appear in the Constitution or in the Fundamental Law of Education (both old and new versions).

With regard to the obligation for voting, the basis of the representative parliamentarianism, the voting rate in the general election that took place in 2006 in Sweden was 80. 4 percent. The voting rate in the election of the House of Councilors in Japan in 2007 was 58. 64 percent. The voting rate in the national election that took place with the start of the constitutional monarchism in Bhutan in 2008 was 79. 9 percent. When he was informed about the low voting rate in Japan, Dasho Kunzang Wagdi, the chief election administrator in Bhutan, questioned if Japan can be counted as a country of democracy.

The organizing rate of the labor union in Japan was 18. 1 percent in 2008, and has been on the decrease. In Sweden, although it is also on the decrease, it was still 79 percent in 2005 (female 83 percent, males 76 percent).

The author visited a home on her visit to Sweden in 2004, and asked a 17-year male high school student if he liked Sweden. He answered with no hesitation that he liked Sweden, and mentioned the following points: Sweden is a country of democracy; people can live in Sweden with no anxiety, and have freedom of expression and action; one can express opposition or criticism freely; there is no discrimination based on gender, religion or race; and democracy is necessary to solve problems. He also stated that he had been to the United States and found that the lifestyle is similar between Sweden and the US, but that democracy in Sweden is different from that of the US.

Democracy in Sweden is well understood and internalized by the young generation. On the other hand, in Japan, there are problems of non-transparent politics, waste of the tax money, present economic prosperity at the sacrifice of the future generation, and so forth. In order to correct this unsustainable society in Japan, the author wishes to conduct a further research on the differences between Japan and Sweden with democracy as the key aspect. Thus, research entitled "Ideal Society Part II" was conducted in Japan and Sweden in May 2009.

Part II : Democracy Seen in "Ideal Society Part II" as an Alternative Sustainable Indicator

5. Democracy as an Alternative Element for the Sustainable Welfare Indicator

5.1 Democracy indispensable for a society with high levels of happiness and satisfaction

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), the British utilitarian who advocated "the greatest happiness for the greatest number" as the goal of the government, argued that the government must pay attentions to the needs of the citizens, and requested the realization of democracy (e.g. general suffrage, voting, parliament system, etc.) as the most effective measure for it[30]. In other words, scholars of the 19th century assumed that democracy was en effective measure to realize happiness and satisfaction.

Triple bottom line, one of the important definitions for sustainable development, that is the balance between "society", "environment" and "economy" was adopted in HSM (Human Satisfaction Measure) as the foundation for the sustainable welfare indicator. In addition to this, in order to assure happiness and satisfaction of the people (both of the present and future generation), the importance of democracy has been recognized since the 19th century. With a purpose to develop a more concrete and practical usage of HSM, the research "Ideal Society Part II" was conducted in Japan and Sweden in May 2009, with questionnaire consisting of questions about various aspects of democracy.

5.2 Profile of the Research

Research in Japan
Research theme: "Ideal Society Part II"
Research method: Web-based questionnaire
Target group: Both males and females aged between 20 and 69, living in Japan
Resarch period: May 15-19, 2009
Valid samples of quantitative research: 521 samples
Qualitative research (open-ended answers) : 492

Research in Sweden
Research theme: "Ideal Society Part II"
Research method: Web-based questionnaire (in English)

Target group: Both males and females aged between 20 and 69, living in Sweden
Research period: May 13–20, 2009
Valid samples of quantitative research : 331 samples
Qualitative research (open-ended answers) : 303
Survey operation: by IID Corporation

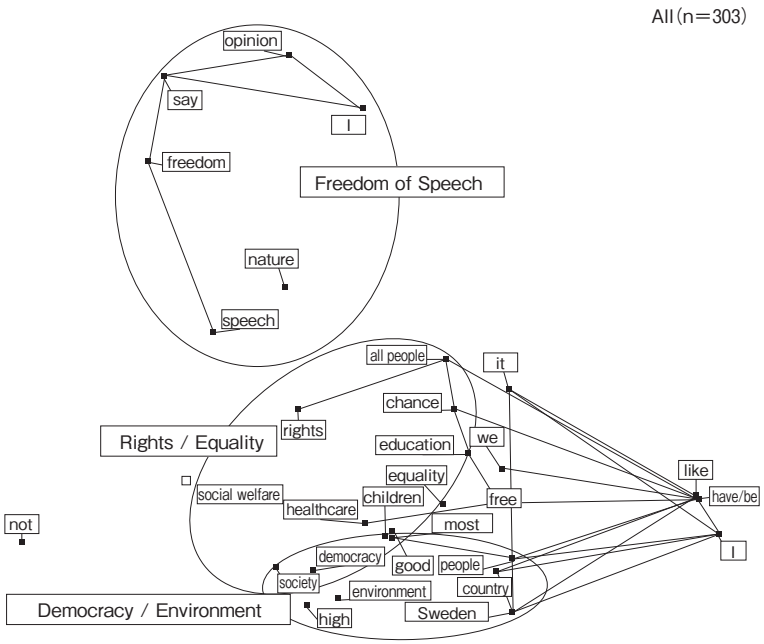
6. Open-ended Answers to the Aspects of Own Country that the Respondents Like the Most

6.1 Differences between Sweden and Japan in the word mapping

First, we analysed the open-ended answers to the question "What kinds of aspects of Sweden do you like most?" (research in Sweden), and "What kind of aspects of Japan do you like most?" (research in Japan). For the analyses, *True Teller* was used in order to demonstrate word mapping where relationships between words are shown in different locations on a map.

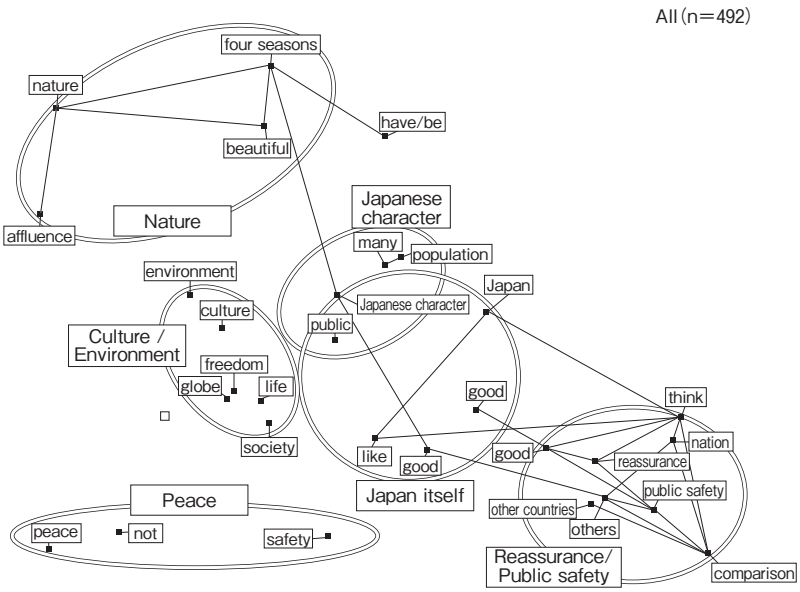
Figure 11 shows the word mapping in Sweden all respondents (total n=303).

Figure 11 : What kinds of aspects of Sweden do you like most?



For the Swedish respondents, the aspects of the country that they like most are concentrated on "democracy, environment", "freedom of speech", and "rights, equality". This result is very common with the open-ended answers given in the survey 2008 : "What is the ideal society with high levels of happiness and satisfaction for you?", where the answers were "democracy", "equality" and "environment". In other words, for the Swedes, the elements of the

Figure 12：What kinds of aspects of Japan do you like most?



ideal society and the aspects they like Sweden are almost coincident. The 17-year old high school student mentioned "democracy" as one of the aspects of Sweden that he likes most is certified.

The figure 12 shows the word mapping of Japan, all respondent on what the Japanese respondents like about Japan.

The Japanese respondents show their appreciation for "nature", "culture, environment", "national character", "peace", and "safety, security" which are soft sides of the Japanese society. However, they do not focus on the basis of the society on which those soft sides stand. The Japanese respondents appear to lack a clear view on what happens to the society if the basis of the society becomes unstable.

Among Swedish respondents the keywords that commonly appear among the all respondents male group and female group are "democracy", "freedom of speech", and "equality". There is a strong stability shared values among the Swedish respondents.

The common keywords that appear among all Japanese respondents, male group and females group on what they like about Japan are "nature", "national character", "security (low crime rates)" and "culture" and "peace". Those keywords are about the soft sides of the Japanese society, while how present peace is realized and why they can enjoy those soft sides of the society are not well recognized by the Japanese respondents. More research is required in order to investigate the backgrounds and problems of such attitude.

6.2 Differences between Sweden and Japan in the top 50 words appearing in the word ranking

According to word ranking (the table omitted), in the case of Sweden, "freedom" appears 124

times, having the highest frequency. In the case of Japan, "freedom" appears 62 times, having the fourth place. The word "nature" appears 71 times and occupies the second place in Sweden, while it appears 43 times and has the 9th place in Japan. In Sweden, "expression" appears 56 times and has the third place, and in Japan it appears 48 times and has the 10th place. "Democracy" appears 55 times in Sweden and has the fourth place, but this word does not appear within the top 50 words in the case of Japan, appearing only 3 times and occupying the 223rd place. "Education" appears 39 times and has the 9th place in Sweden, while it appears 13 times and the 33rd place in Japan. "Right" appears 36 times and has the 11th place in Sweden. In the case of Japan, "right" does not appear among the top 50 words, but appears only 3 times occupying the 178th place. In Sweden, "equality" appears 36 times and has the 12th place, while in Japan this words does not appear among the top 50 words, but appears only 5 times and having the 119th place. "Environment" appears 23 times and has the 21st place in Sweden, while it appears 16 times and has the 26th place in Japan.

Regarding those keywords mentioned above, they appear more frequently in Sweden. Considering the fact that the sample size of Sweden is 303 which is considerably smaller than Japan's sample size of 492, those keywords demonstrate firmly established social values in Sweden. In Japan, those keywords that appear frequently are "four seasons", "safety", "peace", "culture", "life", "affluence" and "national character" that are more emotional expressions.

7. Differences between Japan and Sweden on Democracy Found in the Research "Ideal Society Part II"

7.1 Ideal society

In the ressearch "Ideal Society Part I" conducted in Sweden and Japan, there was an open-ended question "What is the ideal society with high levels of happiness and satisfaction for you?". Six keywords were identified both from Japan and Sweden. In the research "Ideal Society Part II", these six keywords were integrated into six questions in which respondents were asked to choose one alternative in the five-scale predefined answers. Those five scales were "very important", "rather important", "neither important nor unimportant", "rather unimportant", and "not important at all". The six questions were:

1. Society where people consider earth environment
2. Society where there is no war, crime, or anxiety
3. Society where there is equality and no social gap
4. Society where life is stable
5. Society where democracy is well-established
6. Society where everybody can receive education that s/he wishes

In Sweden, the item for which "very important" was most notable was "society where democracy is well-established" accounting for 65.3 percent and "rather important" 25.1 percent, in total 80.4 percent. On the other hand, in Japan "very important" accounted for 28.0 percent, and "rather important 44.9 percent, in total 72.9 percent. It seems that the Japanese respondents see democracy as having a secondary importance. For "society where everybody

can receive education that s/he wishes", "very important" accounted for 59.0 percent in Sweden and 39.3 percent in Japan. As for the importance of "democracy" and "education", those key words standing out in Sweden in the result of "Ideal Society Part I", were also high in "Ideal Society Part II" as well.

With regard to "society where life is stable", "very important" accounted for 66.5 percent in Sweden and 63.5 percent in Japan, which shows a similar level. For "society where people consider earth environment", "very important" accounted for 67.1 percent in Sweden and 57.4 percent in Japan. For "Society where there is no war, crime, or anxiety", "very important" accounted for 71.0 percent in Japan and 68.0 percent in Sweden. These results reconfirmed the word mapping from "Ideal Society Part I".

7.2 Important factors for "healthy democracy"

Mike Salvaris, an associate professor of RMIT University (Melbourne, Australia), shows ten factors for the establishment of healthy democracy[31]. In "Ideal Society Part II" three more factors were added to ask about "important factors for healthy democracy":

1. Fair and representative elections
2. Competent and honest governments
3. Fair and equal laws
4. Active and knowledgeable citizens
5. Shared belief in the public interest
6. Reasonable equality in wealth and power
7. Openness and transparency
8. Devolution of power, 'subsidiarity'
9. Trust between citizens and the governments
10. Innovation, evaluation, change
11. Freedom of expression
12. Internet Censorship
13. Parliament represents a public opinion

The factor that received the highest rate of "very important" in Sweden was "fair and equal laws" (86.1%%), and followed by "Competent and honest governments" (84.3%), "fair and representative elections" (82.5%) and "freedom of expression" (81.0%), they are all higher than 80 percent. "Trust between citizens and the government" (62.5%) and "Parliament represents a public opinion" (58.6%) followed. These factors are all important as the coner stones of democracy.

Compared to Sweden, the factor that received the highest rate of "very important" in Japan was "competent and honest government" (61.8%), followed by "fair and equal laws" (57.6%), and other factors were all below 50 percent. In Japan, "rather important" tends to receive a higher rate than "very important", which is exemplified in the response to "freedom of expression" which received 32.8 percent for "very important" and 45.3 percent for "rather important". This shows the tendency of the Japanese who prefer rather vague answers than straightforward answers. The lowest rate for "very important" in Sweden was "Internet

Censorship" (11. 5%). The response "not important at all" to this factor was 31. 4 percent, which shows people in Sweden respect "freedom of expression".

7.3 Japanese who perceive democracy negatively

As the Swedish high school student mentioned above, democracy plays an important role to solve problems through democratic rules and mechanisms. In order to solve social problems properly, correct, transparent and high quality information, as well as debates, are necessary. In Japan, however, this kind of perception of democracy is lacking, and discussions tend to take an unnecessarily long time for no clear conclusion, which is often justified by the statement "democracy takes long time to reach a conclusion". In other words, democracy is sometimes perceived in a negative way in Japan. In order to see how democracy is characterized by the respondents, the following two statements were given:

1. Democracy has the function that leads to a solution through people's discussions when there are opposing opinions among people
2. Democracy has the tendency that it takes too much time to solve problems, and that it is difficult to reach a consensus

Regarding the statement 1, in Sweden, 34. 4 percent answered "agree" and 16. 9 percent answered "neither agree nor disagree". In Japan, "agree" was 21. 9 percent and "neither agree nor disagree" was 27. 8 percent. It seems that in Sweden, the role of democracy is well understood. While in Japan, recognition of the role of democracy is weak, and "neither agree nor disagree" received the higher response rate than "agree" by 5. 9 points. With regard to the statement 2, 15. 7 percent of the Japanese respondents answered "agree", while 9. 4 percent of the Swedish respondents answered "agree". Those who disagreed to this statement was 8. 2 percent in Sweden, and only 3. 3 percent in Japan, which indicates that the negative perception about democracy is unique in Japan (Figure 13 and 14).

Figure : 13

Q 9-1 Democracy has the function that leads to a solution through people's discussions when there are opposing opinions among people. (SA)

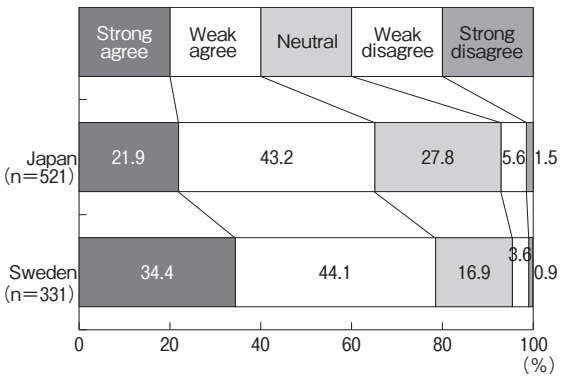


Figure : 14

Q 9-2 Democracy has the tendency that it takes too much time to solve problems, and that it is difficult to reach a consensus. (SA)

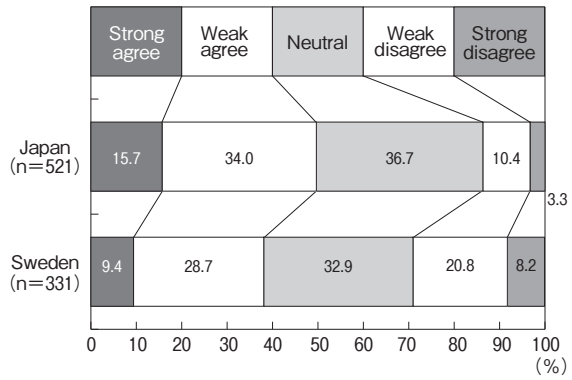


Figure : 15

Q 10 Have you received any training to debate? (SA)

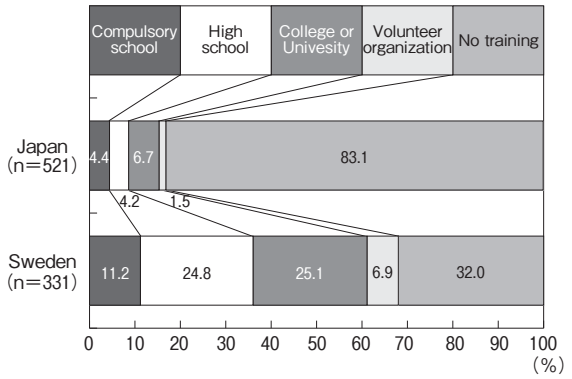


Figure : 16

Q 16/17 Do you belong to any local or nation-wide volunteer organization and join activities? (SA)

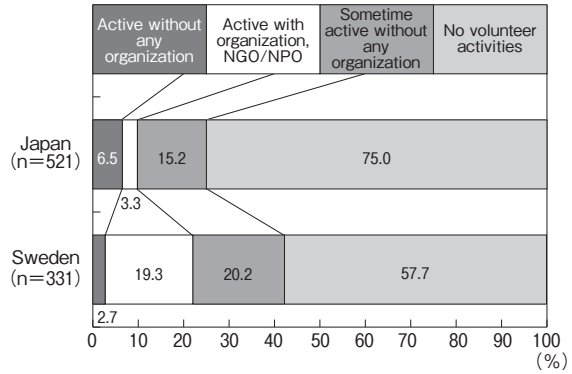


Figure : 17

Q 15/16-1 I receive correct infomation. (SA)

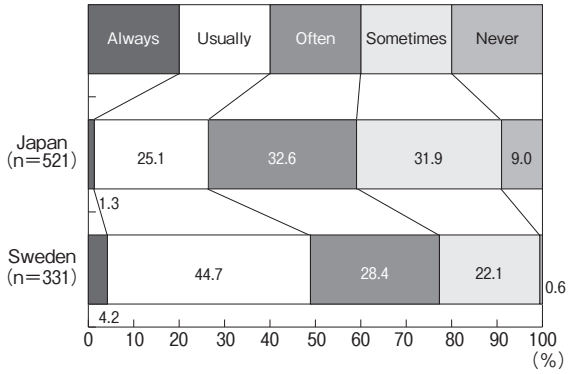


Figure : 18

Q 15/16-2 I receive transparent infomation. (SA)

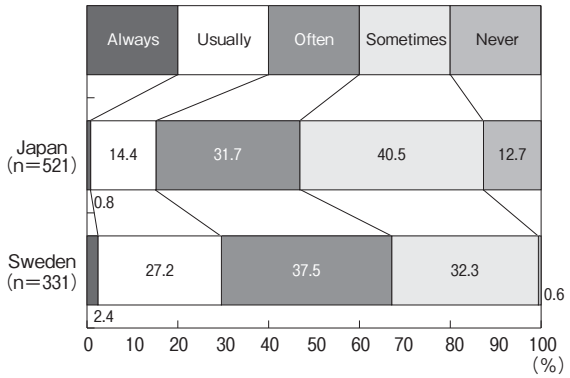
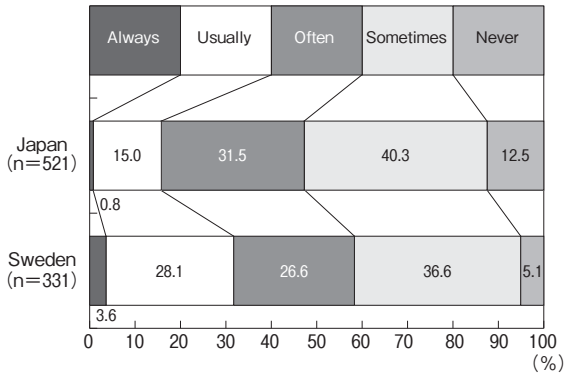


Figure : 19

Q 15/16-3 I receive correct high quality infomation. (SA)



7.4 Training for debate and experiences of volunteer activities

Debate is one of the keys for the democratic mechanism. In Sweden, those who received the training for debate during the compulsory education accounted for 11. 2 percent, in the high school 24. 8 percent, in the university 25. 1 percent, and in activities in NPO/NGO 6. 9 percent, and in total 68. 0 percent of the respondents have received training for debate. Those who have not received this training accounted for 32. 0 percent.

In Japan, on the other hand, those who received the training for debate in the compulsory school, in the high school, in the university, and in activities in NPO/NGO accounted for only 16. 8 percent. Those who have not received the training for debate accounted for 83. 1 percent, which shows that the democratic mechanism in Japan does not function well (Figure 15).

Regarding volunteer activities, 25. 0 percent of the Japanese respondents and 42. 2 percent of the Swedish respondents are involved in some kind of volunteer activity, and Sweden has 17. 2 points higher than Japan (Figure 16).

7.5 Correct, transparent and high quality information

High quality debate requires, as OECD suggests, correct, transparent and high quality information. Figure 17, 18 and 19 show the comparison on whether the respondents from Japan and Sweden have an access to such information. 1. 3 percent of the respondents in Japan and 4. 2 percent in Sweden responded that they can "always" get "correct information". The total who responded that they get correct information "usually" and "often" was 57. 7 percent in Japan, and 73. 1 percent in Sweden. Those who answered that they do not get correct information at all was 9. 0 percent in Japan and 0. 6 percent in Sweden (Figure 17).

Regarding "transparent information", getting it "always" was 0. 8 percent in Japan and 2. 4 percent in Sweden. The total of "usually" and "often" was 46. 1 percent in Japan and 64. 7 percent in Sweden. "Never" accounted for 12. 7 percent in Japan while it was 0. 6 percent in Sweden (Figure 18).

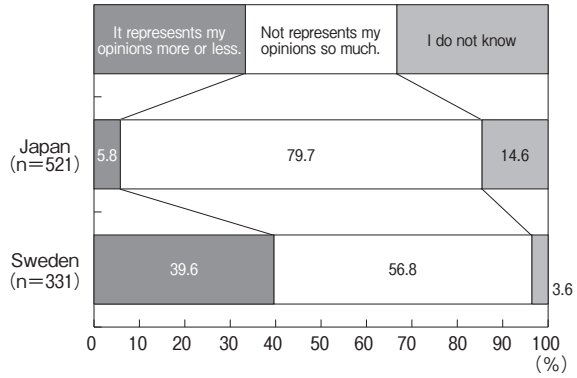
Those who answered that they "always" get "correct and high quality information" accounted for 0. 8 percent in Japan and 3. 6 percent in Sweden. The total of those who responded "usually" and "often" was 46. 5 percent in Japan and 54. 7 percent in Sweden. "Not at all" was 12. 5 percent in Japan and 5. 1 percent in Sweden (Figure 19).

7.6 Sweden is a country where "fairness, justice", "equality", "equal opportunity", "transparency" and "just argument is well-accepted" (by former ambassador Mr. Takeshi Fujii)[32)]

The former ambassador to Sweden Mr. Takeshi Fujii wrote in his books "Sweden Special" (I and II, 2002; III, 2003) that such values as "fairness, justice", "equality", "equal opportunity", "transparency" and "just argument is well accepted" lie as the bases of the Swedish society, and that the welfare society is built on the ideology of "people's home" supported by the Social Democratic Party. In the research "Ideal Society II", one of the question was related to whether such values are realized in Japan and Sweden. Those who answered that "fairness, justice" are

Figure：20

Q 8 Do you think that the parliament represents your opinions and ideas?



realized was 9. 4 percent in Japan and 55. 6 percent in Sweden. Regarding "equality", 8. 8 percent in Japan and 39. 3 percent in Sweden; "equal opportunity" was 12. 5 percent in Japan and 47. 1 percent in Sweden; "transparency" was 3. 3 percent in Japan and 32. 3 percent in Sweden; "just argument is well accepted" was 4. 4 percent in Japan and 44. 1 percent in Sweden. In the case of Japan, those who answered that none of those values are realized accounted for 78. 6 percent, while it was only 20. 2 percent in Sweden. Through the answers to this question, we can conclude that Japanese respondents do not think that those five conditions for a sustainable democratic society are realized in Japan.

7.7 Representation of citizen's opinions in the national and the local parliaments

As Figure 20 demonstrates, a large majority of the Japanese respondents (79. 7%) think that the national parliament and the local parliament do not represent citizen's opinions. In Sweden, those who answered that the parliaments more or less represent citizen's opinions accounted for 39. 6 percent, which is almost seven times as much as Japan's 5. 8 percent. In Sweden, those who answered that parliaments "do not represent citizen's opinions" accounted for 56. 8 percent and 20 points lower than those in Japan.

Part Ⅲ：What Japan can learn from Swedish democracy

8. The Beginning of Swedish Democracy

8.1 Parliament has existed since the 15th century

According to the Swedish parliament's home page[33] and so on, Swedish democracy started with the non-alcohol movement and labour movement that became active in the 1800s. Through those movements, people gradually learned how to manage meetings, to record the discussions, to assert opinions, to do accounting, and how to face the administration. About 100 years ago, a new political party emerged out of such movements. The Social Democratic

Labour Party (Socialdemocratiska arbetarepartiet) was established in 1889, and joined the government for the first time in 1917. In the document of the Swedish parliament, 1921 is defined as the year when authentic democracy was introduced, because in this year women got the voting right in the parliament election.

One factor that is important for Sweden's democracy is that parliament was established as early as the 15th century, and there was an established system where people with different opinions discussed. The origin of the parliament was a meeting held in Arboga in 1435 where leaders of Sweden met to discuss important issues of the country. Later, in the national meetings that King Gustav Vasa held in Västerås in 1527 and 1544 were more established parliament. At that time, the parliament consisted of representatives of the four classes (aristocrats, priests, common people, and farmers), and the four classes were equal. The Swedish word that means parliament (Riksdag) was first used in the 1540s[34].

In the 1500s, Japan was in late Muromachi period (1392–1573), especially the period when feudal loads conquered each others' territory, and there was no room for democratic debate in parliament as in the case of Sweden. This was followed by Azuchimomoyama period (1573–1599) and the Edo period (1600–1867) with the unification of the country by Ieyasu Tokugawa. During the peaceful 260 years of isolation from the outer world, literature, culture, and arts became prosperous. However, with the strict class system that divided people into samurai, farmers, artisans and tradesmen, there was no freedom of expression or equality.

8.2 The ideology of "people's home" established by the Swedish Social Democratic Party

In Sweden, Social Democratic Party joined the Edén Administration of the Liberal Party in 1917, and became the single party majority in 1920. Afterwards, although there were occasions in which Social Democratic Party became the opposition party, this party built the basis of the welfare state as the political party with the longest history in power. When the Social Democratic Party leader P. A. Hansson became the prime minister in 1928, he described the future image of the country as "people's home (folkhemmet)".

The concept of "people's home" is based on the idea that in a good home there are equality, consideration for others, cooperation and mutual support. An equal society is realized by removing the social and economic barriers that used to divide the citizens into those who are privileged and non-privileged, superior and inferior, rich and poor, and those who plunder and those who experience material loss. However, it is not through violent actions, such as revolution, that lead to this goal. The ideal home is not only for the home for labour workers, but it is the home where all citizens are equal and support mutually[35]. This ideology is the foundation for the building of Swedish welfare state based on fairness, justice and equality of democracy.

9. Beginning of Japan's Democracy

9.1 Vulnerability of democracy that was not constructed by the citizens

In Japan, the Meiji Restoration (1867) became the end of the feudal system, marking the

beginning of the unified capitalist state. Later, after the complete defeat in the Second World War, a series of democratic reforms took place under the leadership by GHQ (General Headquarters) of the allied countries (e.g. dismantle of *zaibatsu*, agrarian reform and trade union law in 1945, new constitution and woman suffrage in 1946, basic education law and labor standards act in 1947).

However, it was not the Japanese people themselves who promoted and constructed democracy, and democracy has not been internalized in the social system in Japan. This caused the different perceptions of democracy as observed in Japan and Sweden through the research "Ideal Society Part Ⅱ". There are opinions that differences are also welcome. However, current political situation in Japan and the unstable Triple Bottom Line in Japan show that the Japanese enjoy their current prosperity on the expenses of the future generation.

9.2 Unstable Triple Bottom Line in Japan

In the "social" aspect in Japan, the number of suicide has been no less than 30,000 annually, which is the highest among the industrialized countries. Non-regular employees accounted for 19.9 percent for the males and 55.2 percent for the females in 2007; those who work on contract basis may suddenly lose the job, and are not assured the acceptable healthy and cultural lives; and crimes such as random murder have been on the increase and anxiety in the society spreads. Women's social status in Japan is the lowest among the OECD countries. Import rate of food is 60 percent, which leads to high food miles because the food is transported by ships and airplanes. Japan also depends on the water resources (1.12 times as much water as Japan's agriculture water) of the food-producing countries. In those countries, the areas used for the food production to be exported to Japan is equivalent to 90 percent of Japan's area (38 million ha). In addition, the leavings of the food are equivalent to 11 trillion yen, but there is no problematization of this issue in the food education basic law or basic dietary education plan.

It is said that about 46 percent of the granaries in the world will disappear around 2060 due to the global climate change. Japan exports cars and electronic products and imports food, but has no strategies to perpetuate this international division of labor. Japan also imports 95 percent of energy, and dependence rate on the oil from the Middle East in 2004 was 89.5 percent. In 2050, Japan's population will be today's two thirds due to the constant decrease in the population, and 36.2 percent of the population will be aged 65 and over. This will lead to a crisis as the domestic demands and the tax revenue will decrease, but there is very little, if any, counter-plan for those problems today.

With regard to the "environmental" aspect, reduction of the CO_2 emissions has not been successful. On the contrary, the goal for the reduction of CO_2 emission by 6 percent from the 1990 levels during the first period as defined in the Kyoto Protocol (2008-2012) became increasingly difficult, because the emission increased by 8.7 percent in 2007. But Japan's goal 25 percent reduction of CO_2 emission (that's Hatoyama Initiative) has been well received by the international community at COP 15. Policies made by the Japanese government towards a low-carbon society should be taken not in the forecasting style, but the backcasting style where a goal is set first. But now the environmental policies in Japan cannot be the

fundamental solution. It's true. The Japan's administration attaches importance to good relationship with the domestic economic circles than to the international responsibilities.

In the "economic" aspect, even thought the Japanese government asserts that Japan is a great economic power, the reality is that Japan is an indebted country where the state and the local authorities have deficits of 1000 trillion yen, and 40 percent of the annual revenue is the government loan.

10. Summary

10.1 Japan's decline predicted by Attali

From the perspective of the Triple Bottom Line, Japan's society is not at all sustainable, and the construction of visions and social systems for the future has not been done through democratic methods. The French economist and scholar Jacques Attali comments on Japan can be summarized as follows: the aged society continues and the relative values of the country continuously decrease. In 2025, Japan's economic power may not even be within the five most powerful ones[36]. Attali further states that a new balance between the market and democracy gradually appears at the global level. He calls this new balance "ultra- democracy". Attali wishes that democracy evolves to ultra-democracy.

10.2 A start with "transparency" and "accountability"

Japan's population (120 million) is almost 13 times as much as Sweden's (9 million). With this large population, Japan has currently much larger tax revenue. There is a lot of non-transparent wastage of the tax revenue in the government and the administration. It seems that the Japanese government does not make efforts to establish a vision to build a sustainable society for the future generations or to create a welfare society like in Sweden. The government puts focuses on the interests of the current generation only. What is needed for the Japanese government now is the following: (1) to make transparent information available; (2) to make information open to the citizens; (3) to stop the wastage of the tax revenue; (4) to establish policies through citizen's opinions; and (5) to correct its course in order to build a sustainable society for the future generations. The social system of Sweden with fairness, justice, equality, equal opportunity, transparency and sound argument should be well recognized by Japanese government. They are the key factors of democracy.

10.3 The keyword for improving the HSM value is "democracy"

While HSM was being established as a sustainable social welfare indicator, the word "democracy" emerged as a keyword in Sweden through the development of HSM Ver. 5. From the research "Ideal Society II", comparisons were made between Japan and Sweden, and it was found that "democracy" is not fully developed in the concept of sustainability in Japan. If in Japan "democracy" will be introduced in politics and management fully, the performance of triple bottom line of Japan will improve, with the result that the HSM value will increase. What is inevitable for an improvement of the HSM value in Japan is "democracy".

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   Target group: Both males and females aged between 20 and 69
   Research period: May 18–23, 2007
   Valid samples: Quantitative research 2109 samples
   Qualitative research (open–ended question) 1756 samples

Research operation: Nikkei Research Corporation

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Research theme: Questionnaire on Ideal Society Part I (in English)
Research method: Web-based questionnaire
Target group: Both males and females aged between 20 and 69
Research period: April 11-22, 2008
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